Edward Miller,
St John's College,
Cambridge.

April 1985.

EIKON BASILIKE

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J.A.C. Harrison, Sc.

EIKON BASILIKE, OR THE KING'S BOOK EDITED BY EDWARD ALMACK F.S.A

LONDON: CHATTO AND WINDUS
BOSTON: JOHN W. LUCE AND COMPANY : PUBLISHERS 1907

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SO FALLS THAT STATELY CEDAR; WHILE IT STOOD
THAT WAS THE ONELY GLORY OF THE WOOD;
GREAT CHARLS, THOU EARTHLY GOD, CELESTIAL MAN,
WHOSE LIFE, LIKE OTHERS THOUGH IT WERE A SPAN:
YET IN THAT SPAN, WAS COMPREHENDED MORE
THAN EARTH HATH WATERS, OR THE OCEAN SHORE;
THY HEAVENLY VIRTUES, ANGELS SHOULD REHEARSE,
IT IS A THEAM TOO HIGH FOR HUMANE VERSE:
HE THAT WOULD KNOW THEE RIGHT, THEN LET HIM LOOK
UPON THY RARE-INCOMPARABLE BOOK,
AND READ IT O'RE AND O'RE; WHICH IF HE DO,
HEE'L FIND THEE KING, AND PRIEST, AND PROPHET TOO;
AND SADLY SEE OUR LOSSE, AND THOUGH IN VAIN,
WITH FRUITLESSE WISHES, CALL THEE BACK AGAIN.
NOR SHALL OBLIVION SIT UPON THY HERSE,
THOUGH THERE WERE NEITHER MONUMENT NOR VERSE
THY SUFF'RINGS AND THY DEATH LET NO MAN NAME;
IT WAS THY GLORY, BUT THE KINGDOMS SHAME.

I. H

PREFACE

General Consideration of Authorship.—The authorship of the Eikon Basilike, from the very first appearance of the book, has been the subject of endless controversy.

In my Bibliography of the King's Book—Blades, East and Blades, London, 1896—I attempted a survey of the evidence brought forward in support of the rival claims, and expressed my own conclusions on the matter.

(i) **King Charles the First,** the second son of James the First and Anne of Denmark, was born at Dunfermline on November 19th, 1600. He became heir to the throne, on the death of his brother Prince Henry, in 1612. In early years Charles suffered from great weakness, but gradually gained health and strength. Following the literary tastes of his father and his brother, he studied extensively, and became very familiar with the theological controversies of the

times. On February 17th, 1623, Charles and Buckingham started for Madrid, to make the acquaintance of the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III.; and, curiously enough, in passing through Paris, saw the Queen of France with her daughter Henrietta Maria, whom he really was destined to marry. On March 27th, 1625, James died, Charles succeeded to the throne, and in the same year Henrietta Maria became his Queen.

Disputes between Charles and his Parliaments culminated in the outbreak of Civil War in the month of August 1642.

On May 5th, 1646, Charles surrendered himself into the hands of the Scotch Army at Newark. Soon afterwards the English Army appointed Holmby House for his residence. There he was well treated, and consulted his favourite authors. Passing over the incidents of his capture, and the Hampton Court period, we next find him at Carisbrooke under Colonel Hammond. The latter, as governor, had exceptional facilities for studying the habits of his royal prisoner, and it is remarkable that it is from him that we get the following important testimony:—"Part of that book, if not the whole, was writ when he was my prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, where I am sure he

had nothing but a Bible, pen, ink and paper; and going to call him out of his closet to dinner, which I always did, I found him still a-writing, and staying behind to see what he writ, the paper being still wet with ink, I read at several times most of that book."

(ii) **John Gauden,** who when the book had been printed many years made a claim that he had written it, was son of the Vicar of Mayland in Essex, and was born in 1605. Educated first at Bury St. Edmunds School, he went from there to St. John's College, Cambridge, and took his B.A. and M.A. degrees in due course. In 1630 he was tutor at Oxford to two sons of Sir William Russell, Baronet, and in the same year he became a commoner of Wadham. In 1635 he took his B.D. degree, and proceeded D.D. in 1641. On November 29th, 1640, he preached before the House of Commons. In the next year he was nominated by the parliament to the Deanery of Bocking. In November 1660, by a method of sycophancy, and by pleading that Eikon Basilike, both book and figure, was wholly and only his own invention, making and design, in order to vindicate the King's wisdom, honour, and piety—he obtained the Bishopric of Exeter.

In 1662, Gauden, hungering for yet further pre-

ferment, succeeded in obtaining his own election to the bishopric of Worcester. He died on September 20th, 1662.

Internal Evidence as to Authorship.—But as a matter of fact the internal evidence supplied by the Eikon itself affords the strongest possible refutation of the claims of Dr. Gauden to its authorship.

Dr. Gauden published a book called Στρατοστηλιτευτικοι, "a Just Invective against those of the Army and their Abettors, who murdered King Charles I." This book, he tells us, he wrote upon February 10th, immediately after the murder of the King; that is, probably not more than a month or two after he must have composed the closing chapters of the Eikon. (In Dugard's affidavit, see pages 6 and 7 of the Bibliography, we have the date of Gauden's work confirmed.)

Let us take a passage or two from his address to the Army, and compare it with what we have learned of the temper of the King—that temper so emphatically expressed by the word "Remember." [1]

[1] The King's dying reminder to Bishop Juxon, that none, but his actual murderers, should ever be punished.

Extracts from Gauden's 'Just Invective.'

"Go on, you *Appollyons*, you *Abaddons*, in the spirit of Antichrist to fill up the measure of your abominations, till you are drunk with blood, and stumble and fall together. O you locusts, the blackest smoke and noisomest vapour that *ever the* breath of the bottomless Pit exhaled, or sent forth into the Christian world. . . .

"We assure you that you are now looked upon by all sober and honest minds, as the heaviest and filthiest *Incubuses* that ever oppressed Church or State; as the Legions of unclean Spirits, which by diabolical arts and magic of hypocrisy, have got possession of this Church and Kingdom, till Christ by his power cast you out, and suffer you like the Demoniack Swine, through the just judgment of God, to be hurried headlong by your own terrors, and despairs, into the Lake that burns with fire and brimstone.

"You are like accursed *Chams*, not mockers only, but murtherers, of the Father of your country; impudent

Extracts from 'Eikon Basilike.'

"If Thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety and honor, to my chiefest City, and my Parliament;

"If thou wilt again put the sword of Justice into my hand to punish and to protect:

"Then will I make all the world to see, and my very enemies to enjoy, the benefit of *this Vow* and Resolution of Christian Charity, which I *now* make unto Thee, O Lord. *As* I do freely pardon, for Christ's sake, those that have offended me in any kind; *so* my hand shall never be against any man, to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

"We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions. For Thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, that I will use all means in the way of amnesty and indemnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulness.

"Let Thy Mercies be to-

ravishers both of Church and State, to satisfy your most abominable lusts of tyranny, covetousness, and all licentious prophaneness.

"Monsters of men, putid Apostates, execrable Saints, shameless Sinners, traitorous Tyrants, what have you to plead for, or palliate with your late horrid outrages, and unparalleled villainies?

"Nor do we doubt but all the curses in the book of God, (which like that of Meroz, have been causelessly, factiously, and falsely, by some of your double-faced Januses")—he here refers to his friend and neighbour, Stephen Marshall—"formerly imprecated upon the King, and his loyalest subjects, will certainly overtake and fall upon both you and your viperous Generation. . . .

"We tell you, we are so far from counting you Saints and Saviours, that we look upon you as the Tophet which God hath indeed prepared for the King, and these kingdoms, to try and correct them awhile. But, we doubt not, God will at last cast you, who are our Sin, our Death, and our Hell, into the Lake

wards Me and Mine, as my resolutions of truth and peace are toward my people.

"Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips." (Chap. xxv.)

From the Chapter "To the Prince of Wales":—

"But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts and clemency, to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

"I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion to so great a latitude, as may include all that can; but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws: and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

"I would have you always propense to the same way. Whenever it shall be desired and expected, let it be granted; not only as an act of State-Policy, but of Christian charity and choice.

"It is all I have now left, a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all. And I thank God that I have a heart to do it: and joy as much in this grace which God hath given me, as in

that burns with fire and brimstone for ever."

Lastly:

"How can *Zimris*, who have so traitorously slain such a King, their Lord and Master, ever hope to have peace, or impunity in this, or the other world? . . . Nor will, we hope, our Solomon" [Charles II.] "by God's blessing, and his subjects' assistance, suffer the hairy scalps of those who were the chief Counsellors and Actors, in destroying his dear Father, and our dread Sovereign, to go down to the grave in peace, or to die a dry death, who have shed the blood of war, in a time when all differences were by a treaty drawn to a peace and union."

all my former enjoyments. For this is a greater argument of God's love to me than any prosperity can be."

From the end of the book:—

"O Lord, Thou knowest I have found their mercies to me, as very false, so very cruel; who, pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruin.

"O deal not with them as bloodthirsty and deceitful men: but overcome their cruelty with Thy compassion and my charity.

"And when thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent souls, with the blood of Thy Son, that Thy destroying Angel may pass over them.

"Though they think my kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me; yet let the capacious kingdom of Thy infinite Mercy at last receive both Me and my Enemies.

"When being reconciled to Thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities."

There is of course much more that could be said upon the same question of internal evidence, but as to do so would take me beyond the limits of this introduction, I must refer the reader to pages 11 and *seq.* of the Bibliography, where the subject has been treated at greater length than is here possible.

Here it will be sufficient to remark that whereas Mr. Doble, following other writers on the subject, considered the Eikon too ecclesiastical in style for a king, Dr. Gardiner, on the contrary, in his *Life of Charles the First*, (Dic. Nat. Biog.) affirmed that the King was very much at home in using the weapons of religious controversy. This was always stated by the King's contemporaries, but it is worth while to note Dr. Gardiner's confirmation. This argument of Mr. Doble's, as is the case with several other arguments advanced by him,[1] has really proved an additional justification of the title of King Charles I. to the authorship of Eikon Basilike.[2]

[1] See page 11 of the Bibliography.

[2] In speaking to me in about 1898, Dr. Gardiner said that he had read and studied the Eikon Basilike, and was struck by constantly coming upon sentences expressing just what Charles the First would naturally have expressed, and expressed too just in his way, whether rightly or not.

External witnesses in favour of the King's Authorship.—

1645. Dr. Rhodes, Incumbent of Haughton and Thorpe, near Newark (quoted by his widow and son). See Dr. Hollingworth's Defence of K. Charles the First's Holy and Divine Book, called Eikon Basilike; against the Rude and Undutiful Assaults of the late Dr. Walker, of Essex, proving By Living and Unquestionable Evidences, the aforesaid Book to be that Royal Martyr's, and not Dr. Gauden's. London, 1692. See page 89.

Thomas Wagstaffe: A Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, Proving that His Majesty was the Author of Eikon Basilike. Against a Memorandum, Said to be Written by The Earl of Anglesey: and Against the Exceptions of Dr. Walker, and Others. The Second Edition, with Additions. Imprimatur. Junii 8. 1693. Charles Heron. London: Printed for H. Hindmarsh, at the Golden-Ball over against the Royal Exchange. 1697. See page 84.

Captain Wade, of the Parliamentary Army. See, as above, Hollingworth, page 22, and Wagstaffe, page 98.

Mr. Reading, in attendance on the King. See Wagstaffe again. Page 104.

Bishop Juxon and Sir John Brattle. See Hollingworth again. Page 9.

Colonel Hammond, of Carisbrooke Castle. See again Wagstaffe. Page 100.

In the Library of Lambeth Palace, Archbishop Tenison's copy of Eikon Basilike, with a note in his hand, according to the statement to him of Dr. Mew, Bishop of Winchester.

1648. Clarendon's Full Answer to the Parliament's Declaration of No More Addresses. Page 150.

1649. Milton's *Eikonoklastes*, passim.

The Princely Pelican: royall resolves Presented in sundry choice observations Extracted from his Majesty's Divine Meditations. With Satisfactory Reasons to the whole Kingdom, that his Sacred Person was the only Author

of them. Epictet. in Enchirid. Subditis regere, Regibus subjici! Quid iniquius? Printed Anno Dom. 1649. See page 74. Author unknown. Also Chapter VIII., page 287.

W. Dugard, the printer's statement preserved in the Record Office, and given in full here. See page 7.

ΕΙΚΩΝ Η ΠΙΣΤΗ or, The Faithfull pourtraicture of a Loyall Subject, in Vindication of Eikon Basilike. Otherwise Intituled, the Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie, in his solitudes and sufferings. In Answer to an insolent Book, Intituled ΕΙΚΩΝ ΑΛΗΘΙΝΗ: whereby occasion is taken, to handle all the controverted points relating to these times. . . .

Printed in the year 1649.

See pages 4 and 8. The author of the above is not known. It is attributed by Dr. Wordsworth to Endymion Porter.

1656. A non-conforming Minister, quoting Major Huntington. See again Hollingworth. Page 21.

Dr. Robert Hall (quoting Major Huntington), and Richard Duke, Esq., J.P. Both corroborated by Sir William Courtney (quoted by Dr. Walker), in Dr. Wordsworth's *Who Wrote Eikon Basilike?* Page 89.

1658. Wm. Sanderson, Life and Reign of King Charles I. Page 524.

1663. Heath's Chronicle. Describing Cornet Joyce's seizure of the King at Holdenby.

1690. October 26th.—Statement by Wm. Levet, the King's page. See Hollingworth Page 8; also Wagstaffe. Page 38.

1691. April 29th.—Letter from Wm. Levet to Seymour Bourman, Esq. See Wagstaffe. Page 38.

1692. July 19th.—Statement of Wm. Read, Archdeacon of Sarum. See Dr. Walker's True, Modest, and Faithful Account of the Author of Eikon Basilike, Strictly Examined, and Demonstrated to be False, Impudent, and Deceitful. In Two Parts. The first disproving it to be

Dr. Gauden's. The second proving it to be King Charles the First's. By Thomas Long, B.D. . . . London: Printed, and are to be sold by R. Talor, near Stationers-Hall. 1693. Page 37.

1693. Rev. Wm. Carl Beck, at page 36 of the last-named work. Also quoted at page 27 of Hollingworth.

1699. May 22nd.—Statement of John Holme, apothecary, reporting Levet. See Wagstaffe. Page 87.

May 12th.—Statement of Sir P. Whichcott. See Wagstaffe. Page 110.

Statement of J. Clifford to Dr. Hollingworth. See Hollingworth. Page 13.

Statement of Robert Hearne, Sir P. Warwick's amanuensis. See Hollingworth's Character of King Charles I. Page 9.

Evidence in favour of Gauden's Authorship.

—The following Documents are in State Papers collected by Edward Earl of Clarendon. Volume III. Appendix.

1660. January 21st (*i. e.* 1660–1).—Letter from Gauden (Bishop of) to Clarendon, claiming to have written every word of the book.

Mrs. Gauden's Narrative, stating that Gauden wrote all except two chapters.

Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Lord Chancellor.

January 25th.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Lord Chancellor.

February 20th.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Lord Chancellor.

March 6th.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Lord Chancellor.

St Thomas's Day.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Lord Chancellor.

Morrow after Christmas Day.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Lord Chancellor.

December 28th.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Lord Chancellor.

1661–2. March 20th.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Earl of Bristol.

1662. March 26th.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Earl of Bristol.

March 27th.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Earl of Bristol.

April 1st.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Earl of Bristol.

May 1st.—Letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Earl of Bristol.

July 9th.—Two letters on this day from the same to the same; but now the signature is John "Worcester," not John Exeter.

1692. Dr. Walker's True account of the Authour of a Book, entituled Eikon Basilike, or the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings, proved to be written by Dr. Gauden, late Bishop of Worcester. 1692.

Preparation for the Press.—The most striking figures associated with the publication of Eikon Basilike, are Symmonds, Royston, and Dugard.

The Reverend Edward Symmonds, Rector of the parish of Rayne in Essex, was entrusted by the King with the manuscript when ready for the press.

James Clifford, Reader at Sergeants Inn, and who had been turned out of Magdalen College, Oxford, for his loyalty—after alluding to the King's entrusting his book to the Reverend Edward Symmonds to have it printed, records:—

"After the printing of which, a great part was seized in Mr. Symmons lodgings; and he, though in a shepherds habit, was so far discovered, as that he was pursued into Great Carter Lane, by the rebels; where he took refuge, and the bloody villains fired two pistols at him, which frighted him upstairs, and out of the garret window he made his escape over the houses."

Richard Royston (see Mr. Tedder's article in D.N.B.) was bookseller to Charles I., Charles II., and James II. On July 31st, 1645, he was charged by John Wright, parliamentary printer, as being the constant factor for all scandalous books and papers against the proceedings of Parliament, and he was sent to the Fleet prison. At the Restoration, Charles the Second granted to Richard Royston the monopoly of printing the works of Charles the First—"in testimony of his fidelity and loyalty and of the great losses and troubles he hath sustained in the printing and publishing of many messages and papers of our said Blessed Father, especially those most excellent discourses and soliloquies by the name of Eikon Basilike."

William Dugard, or Du Gard, the son of the Reverend Henry Dugard, was born in 1606. He became B.A. in 1626, and M.A. in 1630. He made teaching his

profession. In 1637 he was made Master of Colchester Grammar School, and increased the number of boys from nine to sixty-nine. In 1644 he was made Head Master of Merchant Taylors School.

He died on December 3rd, 1662.

The following extract is from the Record Office :—

Feb. 1, 1650. Council of State.—To write the Company of Merchant Tailors of London, to elect a schoolmaster, Mr. Dugard having shown himself an enemy to the State by printing seditious and scandalous pamphlets, and therefore unfit to have charge of the education of youths.

John Armstrong, corrector to Mr. Dugard's printing press, to be apprehended, and brought before Council.

To Joseph Hunscott, officer of the Stationers' Company.

To seize the printing presses and stock of William Dugard, Schoolmaster of Merchant Taylors' school, for publishing certain scandalous and seditious books.

Feb. 2. To Keeper of Newgate. To receive William Dugard into his custody for printing several scandalous books against the commonwealth.

The First Edition.—The King was executed on January 30th, 1649, and the first edition was issued within a few hours of this. Copies were eagerly

bought and carefully treasured. Forty-six editions of it were issued in English during the first twelve months of its sale, as well as three editions of it in Latin, four in French, two in Dutch, and one in German. Since then, it has been reprinted fifteen times.

Present Edition.—The present edition has been set up from an "advance copy" of the first edition, which was apparently hidden by "John Armstrong, corrector to Mr. Dugard's Press," who was afterwards ordered to be "apprehended and brought before Council." The text, including the list of errata, is identical with that of the first edition; but the title-page bears the imprint: "London. Printed for R. Royston in Ivie-lane." This, however, would have guided the enemy, and hence was omitted when the book was issued, and the space occupied by two "rules." Later, when there was more time, an ornamental block was inserted in its place.

Although five editions of the book have been issued since 1875, these have all been taken from modern versions. There has not appeared, in the last hundred years, any edition giving the old spelling of the book, as it was printed in England in 1648–9.

E. A.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

1. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THIS last Parliament I called, not more by others advise, and necessity of My affaires, then by My owne choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crowne, and best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some yeares, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publique grievances in Church & State; I hoped by My (freedome and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings, and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared affaires would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should find least of them in My selfe; not

doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-ballancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to heare, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places ; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding some mens well-meaning zeale by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdomes:) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self; who knowing best the largenesse of my owne Heart toward My Peoples good and just contentment, pleased My self most in that good and firme understanding, which would hence grow between Me and My people.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My owne and My Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporall blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection ; I cared not to lessen My selfe in some things of My wonted Prerogative ; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gaine but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissnesse in Church, and State, had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amisse in practise, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeale to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then My selfe; whom it most concernes both in piety, and policy; as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reforme, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant whatever My Reason & Conscience told Me, was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My owne Judgment to have been over-borne in some things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed My selfe, and My Kingdomes, to those advantages, which some men

sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But our sinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Prosperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming doe not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sinnes have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgments, and hast shewed us, how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sinnes, Thou givest us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not Repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it with an

upright intention, to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdomes, are the Just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives to us of future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the sinnes we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with Our sinnes.

O thou soveraigne goodnesse and wisdome, who Over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also all our hearts; That the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our sinnes have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy Grace turne our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy Warre, so let this Warre prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdoms here, yet I may attaine to that Kingdome of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath Purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

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2. *Upon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I LOOKED upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affaires of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a spheare, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were

capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his owne disposition to any height and rigour of actions : yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the businesse of that unfortunate Earle : when between My owne unsatisfiednesse in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people ; I was perswaded by those, that I think wished me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just ; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so farre from excusing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my Judgment I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death : That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret : which, as a signe of My repentance,

I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whose name and place on Earth no man is worthy to beare, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans owne Conscience, thereby to salve State sores; to calme the stormes of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans owne bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people be displeased, or destroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have suffred, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at least by denying to Signe that destructive BILL, according to that Justice, which My Conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since I gratified some mens unthankfull importunities with so cruell a favour. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to signe that Bill, have been so farre from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no

men have been harassed and crushed more than they: He onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Me, not to consent against the vote of My owne Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the sinfull rashnesse of that businesse.

To which being in My soule so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the best rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath anything more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gaine alike consent from Me, to Acts, wherein my Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Businesse.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affaires, against the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesnesse I was better assured, than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so cleare, as after a long and faire hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses ; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House : And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straffords* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not Condemne him to die : who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury ; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours *for Justice*, (that is, to have both My selfe and the two Houses Vote, and doe as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning party, then satisfied that of right they ought so to doe.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tells the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tendernesse and regret I find in my soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God

knowes) in shedding one mans bloud unjustly, (though under the colour and formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoyding publick mischeifes) which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and Man, to all Posterity, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load & guilt of all that bloud which hath been shed in this unhappy Warre; which some men will needs charge on *Me*, to ease their own soules, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, then to lose my owne.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of sinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so farre, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud guiltinesse O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousnesse.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evill in

thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that pretious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgments, and to see my frailty in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sinnes, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to goe against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sinne against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subjects my will to none, but thy light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in my Soul, for Thou desirest

Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which speaks better things ; of make me, and my People, to hear the voyce and Joy and Gladnesse, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy salvation."

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3. *Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the 5 Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and feares ; yea, and many of My friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchinesse of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save only a free and legall Triall, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or re-

venge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroyle my Kingdomes : of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knowes was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Me, and My Kingdom right, in case they had been found guilty ; or else to have cleared their Innocency, and removed my suspicions ; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this sparke (though I sought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soone kindled, all the world is witnesse : The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of

Commons, and invade their priviledge, is so false, that as God best knowes, I had no such intent; so none that attended could justly gather from anything I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were my followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more scared at my comming, then I was unassured of not having some affronts cast upon me, if I had none with me to preserve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since aboundantly vented against Me both by words and deeds.

The summe of that businesse was this.

Those men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then my self, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no present impunity, or popular

vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which shall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I fore-saw, would in all likelyhood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands ; the more is the pitty.

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my designe ; I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance ; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witnesse in heaven and in my Heart : If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent : or if there were any such wickednesse in my thoughts.

Then let the enemy persecute my soule, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy selfe.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin, in that matter : more then their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

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4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

I NEVER thought anything (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischeifes, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and

Westminster, soone after the Convening of this Parliament ; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all ; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea : so tis no lesse, that he restraines the madnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedome of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, & assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancyed, or disliked them : Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My selfe and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwaies encreasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those feares, which some men scared themselves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and lesse to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confluxes of meane and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at last to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason and candour) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleased to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacy of men resolved to discharge their Consciences must be subdued, by these all factious, seditious, and schismaticall proposalls against Government Ecclesiasticall or Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most mind to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults: whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberatenesse befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive

Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancyed.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced, incouraged and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want anything he most desired, for the Publique good, then obtaine it by such unlawfull and irreligious meanes? But mens passions and Gods directions seldome agree; violent designes and motions must have sutable engines, such as too much attend their owne ends, seldome confine themselves to Gods meanes. Force must crowd in what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit meanes to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it; so neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have Men

of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudenesse most formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Messages sent by My selfe and some of both Houses ; yet no order for redresse could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-spread disease, and predominant mischiefe.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience ; Others petulancy, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged, and abused, while they knew their only security consisted in vulgar flattery : So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the knowne Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser Statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeale, & Industry ; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about seeking whom he may* deceive, and *devoure*.

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, that no

Declaration from the Bishops, who were first fouly insolenced and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My self could take place for the due repression of these Tumults; and securing not onely Our freedome in Parliament, but Our very Persons in the streets; I thought My selfe not bound by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldnesse and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity for any man for popular terrours to desert his publique station. But I think it a hardinesse, beyond true valour, for a wise man to set him self against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gaines a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a Warre, (when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem My Person, and Conscience from violence) God

knowes I did not then think of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after Acts, have so much weakned My selfe, if I had purposed to engage in a Warre, which to decline by all meanes, I denyed My self in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not flie so high, as to worry and teare those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their pawes? God, who is My sole Judge, is My Witnesse in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reasonable faire Quarter; I was resolved to beare much, and did so, but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majesty of my Place and Person, the safety of My Wife and Children, to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudenesse and petulancy.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof some have given already an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up, and buried,

that I think it best to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the just Avenger of all disorders, will in time make those men, and that City, see their sinne in the glasse of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reason, honour, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no lesse content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to heare reason in all things, and to consent to it so farre as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publique Councels, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelyhood, with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded such

confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdome most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelme me.

I looke upon My sinnes, and the sinnes of My people, (which are the tumults of our soules against thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbeare all the banks of loyalty, modesty, Lawes, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appeare, and after did'st asswage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke those beasts of the people, and deliver Me from the rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpassion-

ately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order, and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians; so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of order and counsell.

What man cannot, or will not represse, thy omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely sense and sorrow for their great sinne, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errours by Truth, to our seditions by Lawes duely executed, and to our schismes by Charity, that we may be, as thy *Jerusalem*, a City at unity in it selfe.

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Jesus Christs sake, Amen.

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5. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THAT the world might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to

the Happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other designe but the Generall good of My Kingdomes) I willingly passed the Bill for Trienniall Parliaments : which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing ; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find worke with convenient recesses for the first three Years ; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more worke rather then they found to doe, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity that they wil needs make worke rather then want it ; and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then doe nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens feares, and compasse publique affaires ; I was perswaded to grant that Bill of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the dore upon all present Jealousies, and future mistakes : I confesse I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of dores, as some men have now requited me.

True, It was an Act unparalell'd by any of My Predecessours; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreame confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny My self in so high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should be worse by My bettering theirs; Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of doing good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preserving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherein My interest lies more than any mans, since by those Lawes, My rights as a KING, would be preserved no lesse than My Subjects; which is all I desired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented Me of that setling Act: and many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to doe; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude

in Men of Honors. That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted My self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gaine and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I doe not yet dispaire, but that God will still blesse Me with increase of it: when Men shall have more leisure, and lesse prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are now onely miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor doe I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to returne such retributions of Honour, and Love to Me or My Posterity, as may fully compensate both the acts of My confidence and My sufferings for them; which (God knowes) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety, and religious strictnesse.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which some

men will needs load Me withall; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of My owne and My Subjects miseries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsly divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility to undoe what by My Royall assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreame fatuity of mind in Me, so farre to bind My owne hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of Injuries; yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My self by their not using favours, with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonnesse; but I thought at length their owne feares, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits would force them to conjure them downe againe.

Nor If I had justly resented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could

not have given My enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Me, then by so unprincely Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Armes, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly setled by an Act of Parliament.

God knowes I longed for nothing more then that My self, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sinne, as well as of Hazard, and dishonour for Me to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability : If some men had not feared where no fear was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God I know so well the sincerity and uprightnesse of My owne heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times ; That although I may seeme lesse a Polititian to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in My owne Soule, when I passed it ; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting some men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it selfe, together with Me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devill shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soule worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their owne passions, either to doe much evill themselves, or abuse the over-much goodnesse of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgement: Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evill, because mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) doe I still appeale, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of

mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesses of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be most comformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others feares, I have raised Mine owne; and by setling them, have unsetled My selfe.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous storme, which neither admits My returne to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

Tis easie for Thee to keep Me safe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preserve Me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou has suffered so far to pre-

vaile upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuse My acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My Selfe may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which Thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Me.

I beseech Thee give Me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make Me so far happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offences against Thee.

So, although by My sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

6. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* Westminster.

WITH what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victuall, are forced by Sea to a storm ; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame more than feare ; to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either My self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason, and Conscience to deny them anything.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their owne freedome.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to My Judgment ; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kind ; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just

Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My People. I see that as many men they are seldome of one mind ; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all : If some mens Hydropick insatiablenesse had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they drank ; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome ; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Councell ; when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade ; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to what ever tumultuary patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pitty, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall soveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdomes so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedome ; which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian ; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as

obliging Me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which subjects Me only to God, so farre as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to what ever its subjects in Parliament shall require ; as some men will needs inferre ; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick ; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My self, as King, or the House of Peeres with Me should, not so much desire as enjoyn them to passe. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point by My Governing only by such Lawes, as My People with the House of Peeres have Chosen, and My self have consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously tied to goe as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to

such new Proposalls, which My Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of error, opinion, activenesse, weaknesse, or wilfulnesse, and what they call Obstinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My mind ;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudenesse, and importunate detrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Errour and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for Reason : The uprightnesse of his intentions will excuse the

possible failings of his understandings ; If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councells, and Proposalls. I may, in the Truth and uprightnesse of My heart, protest before God and Men ; that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses, Further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them : yea, in many things where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience on point of Honour was to be considered. I chose rather to deny My self, then them ; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive My self to be Master ; but in what concernes

Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the generall good of My Kingdomes ; (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me ;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie ; nor will I be brought to affirme that to Men, which in My Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thornes with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whose embased flexiblenesse shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions ; when instead of Reason, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdomes.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome ; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintaine : who, though

thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wills to thine ; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so farre to deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries, and commands, that we should believe and obey rather then dispute them ; yet dost thou expect from us, only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee, against our consciences ; and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill Justice ; and to declare our consents to that only which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affaires of My Kingdoms at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to deny My self, in what thou hast subjected to My disposall.

O Let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly slavery, which should make Me strengthen them by My consent in those things which I think in My Conscience to be against thy glory, the good

of My subjects, and the discharge of My own duty to Reason and Justice.

Make Me willing to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon Me, rather then commit the least sinne against My Conscience.

Let the just liberties of My people be (as well they may) preserved in faire, and equall wayes, without the slavery of My soul.

Thou that hast invested Me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer Me not to subject My Reason to other mens passions, and designes, which to Me seems unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightnesse of My heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Justice, for these, I know, will bring Me at last to peace and happinesse with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours sake.

7. *Upon the Queenes departure, and absence out of* England.

ALTHOUGH I have much cause to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her absence, so much, as the scandall of that necessity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That She should be compelled by My owne Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for Her safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the same Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to Her judgement; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government,

and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants ; who continue firme to their former setled Principles and Lawes.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of her danger and affliction ; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage *Indians ;* while their rudenesse and barbarity knowes not so perfectly to hate all Vertues, as some mens subtilty doth ; among whom I yet thinke few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her selfe. The fault is, that she is My wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands Me, to study her Security, who is only in danger for My sake ; I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of My Personall dangers, that I can perish but halfe, if she be preserved : In whose memory, and hopefull Posterity, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should be satiated with My bloud.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects ; and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by

those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vaine expected from those, that dispute their Loyalty : Nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

Tis pitty so noble and peacefull a soule should see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her sympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights ; and assure the envious world, that she loves me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since We do not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generality, and Vulgar ; for we see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most selfe-punishing sin, the Ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themselves against Us ; and those of Our owne Houshold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge : who thinke to satisfy

all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion : and can lesse endure to see, then to sin against their benefactours as well as their Soveraignes.

But even that policy of my enemies is so farre veniall, as it was necessary to their designes, by scandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seeke to drive her out of My Kingdomes ; lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty, as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retayned in their love, and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My owne Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My self.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, reunite us, on earth, if it be thy will ; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies ; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is my greatest temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy selfe, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our soules eternall good, and make us carefull to doe what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessary to be knowne, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Subjects, which professe the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learne, nor any hardning of her, in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let mine and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceablenesse; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not

in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practices have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine; that she may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Sonne Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatnesse in our scatterings and Eclypses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

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8. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or

owne it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could beare the Losse of My Kingdomes.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My selfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sinne, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to beare this, and much more, with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly conteine themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soone after to overspread the whole Kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darknesse.

For tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers: That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother then oyle, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but

that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to doe or say any thing, unbeseeming My self, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as comming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excess injures a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach very far, nor doe us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged My cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, & with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncursed by any language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the conscience of his owne wickednesse, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after paies his owne and his eldest Sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it strange that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successfull to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them : For, Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sinne.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turne, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Commonweale. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sinne of the Father, against the Father of his Country : Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy : God knows, I was so farre from rejoycing in the

Hotham's ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full drought, being executed by them who first employed him against Me) that I so farre pitied him ; as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope many other men doe in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowrenesse, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion ; which so darkens their judgment that they cannot see anything of Sinne and Rebellion in those meanes, they use, with intents to reforme to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeale and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloake or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sinne, and reparation of his duty to Me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercy, who could as

willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffer us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentlemen, he is now become a noteable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraigne carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unseperable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill;* though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull preparations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sinne, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it, for his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more than the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to returne on his owne head, and his violent dealing to come down on his owne pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sonnes of men, and taken the matter into thine owne hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who beare most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment : Let the lighting of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sinne, who know not they have donne amisse, and scare them from their sinne, that sinne of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And doe thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercy, and truth meeting together ; let my Crowne ever flourish in righteousnesse, and peace, kissing each other.

Heare my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to doe good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake ; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Sonne Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

9. *Upon the lifting, and raising Armies against the* KING.

I FIND that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave *White-hall:* what Tumults could not doe, an Army must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recesse hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knowes, is little or none at all: But I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to feare him more than man: and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soule! be of good courage, they confesse their knowne weaknesse, as to truth, and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious KING but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King, that loves his People, and desires their love, either to kill his owne Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdome, the fruits I must now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others envying the publique should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of my self either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent bloud during My Reigne have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger, or covetousnesse? what Widowes or Orphans tears can witnesse against me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with My owne bloud? For the hazards of Warre are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any respect of Persons.

In vaine is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against Me with Swords.

God knowes how much I have studied to see what Ground of Justice is alledged for this Warre against Me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soone end so unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) seemes rather the productions of a surfeit of peace, and wantonnesse of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily find, or make causes of quarrell) then any reall obstructions of publick Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in My owne Conscience, however some men are not willing to beleeve Me, lest they should condemne themselves.

When I first withdrew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults, (the not suppressing of which, no account in Reason can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppresse both Mine and the Two Houses freedome of declaring and voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seeme so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by My Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety ; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborne the Freedome and Honour of the two Houses ; had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences : I know no man so deare to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies ; that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and

demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrones ; nor compelled to abet by their suffrages, or presence ; the designes of those men who agitated innovations, and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and cautiousnesse ; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses ; to whom I wished nothing more, then Safety, Fulnesse, and Freedome.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in faire and Parliamentary wayes by free deliberations, and Votes to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activity of factious Tumults) to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peeres, carried for them by farre the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custome, it was by tumultuary, instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried,

when most of the Peeres were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner, as the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and schismaticall Terrours, which could never passe, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reason, Justice and Religion, My conscience forbids Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard My owne, and My Kingdomes ruine, by my Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blind obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, than utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolicall, and anciently Universall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My judgement, have also a most strickt and indispensable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most unbeseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving

My Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can befall Me ; in as much as the least sinne hath more evill in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopall Faction at first in this point, with My consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednes to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honour for My sake, and the Common-weals, wch I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdome. That I cannot adde My consent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall ; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is only of civill Favor, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may

with their consent, who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament ; when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a Warre, being only such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My owne and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made ; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence : but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me.[7] Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seeme to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedome, becomming such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences,

I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired; this being My necessity driving, the other My choise desiring.

But some men know, I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carryed with Me, which would never fit their designes: and so while they invited Me to come, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punised the greatest and most intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My selfe, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and designe in raising an Army against Me, is by the sequell so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions, or Treaties,

what they would have to appease them ; there was nothing of consequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequentiall, and accessary, after the War was by them unjustly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affaires betweene us, when they first raised an Army, with this designe, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent : and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on My side, I doe not

think My Innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkned ; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse My Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affaires ; Thou judgest without prejudice : Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soule, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, designe or preparation to embroyle My Kingdomes in a Civill Warre ; whereto I had least temptation ; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gaine least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own Life,

which I have been oft compelled to doe in this unhappy Warre ; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me ; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the Warre, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own innocency : Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeeme my People from this miserable Warre ; since thou O Lord knowest my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloudy and deceitfull men ; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counsells.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in Warre.

Arise O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this Warre is, either to destroy My Person, or force My Judgment, and to make me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse *Davids* choise and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (thought their mercies be cruell) then into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire ; Better they destroy Me, then thou shouldst damne Me.

Be thou ever the defence of My soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but My bloud will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdomes, or thy temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by Mine owne Subjects hands.

But o let the bloud of Me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the Bloud of My Innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Justice will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction ; both for my sins, and

the sins of my People ; whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them ! O my Father, for they know not what they doe.

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10. *Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOW untruly I am Charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that only pitty Me, and the Loyall hearts that durst only pray for Me, at first, might witnesse, which yet appear not so many on My side, as there were men in Arms listed against Me ; My unpreparednesse for a War may well dis-hearten those that would help Me ; while it argues (truly) My unwillingnes to fight ; yet it testifies for Me, that I am set on the defensive part ; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My self, or to preserve what is Mine own from their proreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Me, and surprisalls of My strength. Such as are not for Them, yet

dare not be for Me; so over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe My Innocency, and unpreparednesse to assert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their esteeme; who would not so easily have declared a War against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Armes left Me, were those only, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Teares. These may serve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing my Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia, is so farre best for me, That it may drive me from putting any trust in the arme of flesh, and wholly to cast my self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to My own protection as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve Me, I am

above My owne, what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of Making Me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I shall become a support to My Friends, and a Terrour to My Enemies by being unable to succour the one, or suppresse the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to Me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingship, as without any reality of power, or without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Charme, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Commonwealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Soveraigne Power in Subjects seldome agreeing with the stomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their feares, and importunities, both to secure My Friends, and overcome Mine

Enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving My selfe of a sole power to help, or hurt any: yielding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no lesse than the Crowne) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealousies in them, of Me, and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to My self; I desire not to be safer than I wish them and My People; If I had the sole actuall disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further than they protected Me, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My self so far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their owne evill merits and designes, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since Power hath been wrested from Me, and imployed against Me & Them! that neither can be safe if both be not in such a way as the Law hath entrusted the publique safety and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men; which seem to be Enemies not to Me

onely, but to all Monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to posterity such Jealousies of the Crowne, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to My Successors, forbid Me to yeild to such a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility & duty (no lesse then justice and honour) should have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypse My owne beames, to satisfie their feares; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have invested Me: yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Posterity, and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to My Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions, which must needs

follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a shew to the People to have more eyes to foresee; so they will find it hath more mouthes too, which much be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily where men have tried the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darknesse and Eclypse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moone receiveth its chiefest light from Me) they will at length more esteeme and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworne for My Peoples protection; I conceive those men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if so it may seeme) who compell Me to take this new and strange way of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; of protecting My Subjects by exposing My self to danger or dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill Warre and advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some side yeilding; to which the greatest love of the publique Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and *Militia;* which yet are but weak defences against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My self, I doe not think that I can want any thing which providentiall necessity is pleased to take from Me, in order to My Peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for Me; and he is able by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himself can deprive Me of.

Although they take from me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Castles, all flight by Sea in my Ships, and Navy; yea, though they study to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects,

the greatest Treasure and best ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou more than all to me: Make hast to succour me, thou that never failest them, that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whose Judgments oft begin with thy owne Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayst be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved

by the multitude of an Host ; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side, and I shall not feare what man can doe unto mee.

I will give thy Justice the glory of my distresse.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from that them persecute my Soule !

By my sinnes have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject, and justly mayst thou, by my owne Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclypse my glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope, and onely refuge ! Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marveilous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly enemies that compasse me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

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11. *Upon the* 19. *Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALTHOUGH there be many things, they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My owne safety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too deare a rate save onely the parting with My Conscience & Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; Others are easily granted; The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declard that I cannot yield to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making warre upon My soule.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange

of Honour ; or any requitall for those favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This honour they doe Mee, to put Mee on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot aske more than I can give, may I but reserve to My self the Incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience ; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repaire or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seeme unreasonable to me, and while I have any Mastery of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them ? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeilding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me ; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King ; as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to

some men, lest he should seeme not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to bind myself to a generall and implicite consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King, by His own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdome, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented, not only to binde his own hands, and cut off his haire, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistins* might with the more safety mock, and abuse him; which they chose rather to doe, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorne.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, seemes an arrogancy, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their owne inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour

thinkes fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reason, to Consent, or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reason, as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reason & Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which last God & the Laws have sufficiently distinguisht, making me their Soveraign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seekes to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aime to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, & abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my

own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my selfe, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reason in my Soul, and the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or doe refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can Governe themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull, in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehues;* and whose forwardnesse to ascend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus;* God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to

be my Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evill customes preterlegall, and abuses personall had been to be removed: or some injuries done by My selfe, and others, to the Common-weale, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crowne being considered by them, might fairly induce Me to condiscend, to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My selfe, whom nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind Me (in the first place) to preserve: without which, 'tis impossible to preserve My People according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wisdome and piety

of former Parliaments, the ancient and universall practise of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reforme its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeale and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-jointed, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the maine matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schismes in the Church, and so, punishable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and assistance

(chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Lawes against them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the maine; other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor doe I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England:* among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgments free, single, and apart did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remaines in farre the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse

of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (believing that all is good, which is guilded with shewes of Zeale and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement to be drawne into the common sewer or streame of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating designes, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My Judgment, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded,

with Armies of Soldiers: Though the second should prevaile against My Person, yet the first shall never overcome Me, further than I see cause; for, I look not at their number and power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of those Men, who hunt after Factious, and private Designes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgment tell Me, that the Propositions sent to Me were the Results of the Major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedome, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect My own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wise men among them: and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want; so 'tis fit I should use their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdome such a compleatnesse and inerrability as to exclude My self; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour

to preserve as My selfe; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wisdome, which makes the Lawes.

But the unreasonablenesse of some Propositions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them savour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two last famous Predecessours daies, heaved at, and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole masse of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taynt the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practise, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries;

some thirsting after nothing more, than a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew such morsels, before I let them downe; If the straitnesse of my Conscience will not give me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others doe of Sacriledge, and injustice both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any byas upon my judgment, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my owne peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for feare, or flattery, gratifie

any Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease, & oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free, and faithfull counsell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsell of that mighty Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdome is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy Servant, first with cleare discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in My Understanding: then so confirme My will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppressions of my Enemies may ever inforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse than a Man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedome is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedome to Me their KING, which Thou hast given to all Men; and which Themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priveledges.

To Thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through thy perplexed Labyrinths of our owne thoughts, and other mens proposalls; which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plaine before Me.

Let not My owne sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not feare whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdome of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their owne devices, such as are wise in their owne conceits, make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honour, my Kingdoms generall good,

and my owne soules salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdome they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosnesse or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appeares to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsells.

Since we must give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemne Declarations of my mind which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine owne, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or wast of my Conscience; whereof thou O Lord onely art deservedly more Master than My self.

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12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THE Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discerne the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of bloud, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drowne any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Authour or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudy opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was

nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to my selfe, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did, was done with my privity (at least) if not by my Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commission, but against my Command, and Person too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of mens intentions excuse the scandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever faile of their Duty toward me, I must bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwaies done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trialls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquisite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the

cup of my Affliction; Charging me not only with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of losse and dishonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and blood of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interest lies as much as some mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot doe well but in evill times, nor so cunningly as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparkes of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland;* where despaire being added to their former discontents, and the feares of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to

an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the naturall desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knowes, as I can with Truth wash my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my Teares, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so farre, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions, and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designes they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland:* Whose teares and bloud might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civill dissentions, and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been lesse affected with *Irelands* sad estate then my self; I offered to goe my self in Person upon that expedition; But

some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to shoot at any mark here lesse then my self; or that any should have the glory of my destruction but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been so great, nor the calamity so long, nor the remedy so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, theirs musts needs be: who either hindred the speedy suppressing of it by Domestick dissentions, or diverted the Aides, or exasperated the Rebells to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not only to the known heads, and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to those usuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecility for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous, and (I think) un-evangelicall Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would

goe no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all extremites, which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; such as might punish some with exemplary Justice, yet disarme others, with tenders of mercy upon their submission, and our protection of them, from the fury of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kind of Zeale counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmnesse; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not seldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harme he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficiall, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred, and overborne with numbers of now desperate Enemies) was diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant party there, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no

probability (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped : God knowes with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that businesse, by persons of Honour and Integrity, that so I might neither incourage the Rebells Insolence, not discourage the Protestants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to suffer again in my reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety ; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* sad condition more to heart ; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let bloud than to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is false, and evill, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeale to his omni-

science, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, because he is pleased so farre to try my patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to doe to look to my owne Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust as a KING; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarmes of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouthes and hearts, as easily as smoke, or sparks doe out of a fornace; Much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their owne depth of wickednesse, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to doe well, and heare ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to beare the other.

I thank God I can heare with patience, as bad as my worst enemies can falsly say. And I hope I shall still doe better than they desire, or deserve I should.

I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroyle my other Kingdomes, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not-timely stopping those horrid effusions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies please to say, or thinke) I looke upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhausted out of my owne veins; no man being so

much weakned by it, as my selfe ; And I hope, though mens unsatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length say to his justice, *It is enough :* and command the Sword of Civill Warres to sheath it self : his mercifull justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure : the abatement of our sinnes, not the desolating of these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once againe, which I and my Kingdomes have formerly abused, and can never deserve, should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion ; as if we could not be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charity, thou hast suffered a Spirit of Errour and bitternesse, of mutuall and mortall hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great sinnes have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdomes have hitherto suffered seeme small to thee : but make our

sins appeare to our consciences, as they are represented in the glasse of thy judgments; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sinnes, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sinnes be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgments; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdomes.

In the sea of our Saviours bloud drowne our sinnes, and through this red sea of our own bloud bring us at last to a state of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make Me share in all My Subjects sufferings; so give Me such a pious sense of them, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give me grace to heap charitable coles of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruell Zeale hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted my three Kingdomes.

O rescue and assist those poore Protestants in *Ireland*, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And lead those in the waies of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and destrustive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they doe thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised, or fomented those cruell and desperate Warres.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadst pity on *Niniveh* for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousnesse makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the fornace of thy severe justice a Posterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deale with Me, not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdomes calamities, if I have not earnestly

studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloudy distractions; then let thy hand be against me, and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse my integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust not to my owne merit, but thy mercies; spare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

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13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THE *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so farre, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before My owne interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to aske, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be

farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good : I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to their late New modell, cannot but seeme as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand, they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which designe and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent meanes, before the divine Justice : I leave to their Consciences to judge, who have already felt the misery of the meanes, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that forme which they cry up, as the only just reformation, and setling of Government and discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland ;* and was by them

imagined would have done in *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergy, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seeme either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion, for any forraigne State or Church to prescribe such medicines only for others, which themselves have used, rather successefully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by faire and equall disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one; For, it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* patterne before

ever they could be heard, what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gain most on mens Judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemnes mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England;* who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soone renounce both their former opinion and practise, only because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were

proved to be the only institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of my Kingdomes, without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the cheif Governours of States, where they lived is very clear in the Gospell; but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others; and is the first and only point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusions run in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point,

which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obtestations, and pious threatnings, but only this; to represent to me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a Warre; which some men cheifly on this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patterne, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery seekes to suppresse, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall way of the Church-government, and specially as to the particular Lawes and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I see more Rationall and Religious motives, then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach

us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdome, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, & his Churches good; which I think my self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of mens Soules above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designes, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved, both my own and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle my Religion; nor any mans else, who knowes what Religion meanes: And how farre it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out

upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondered, how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Armes and Ammunition; My Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the Justifiablenesse of their doings, and designes before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their worke on, seem it never so plausible to the People; what cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come into their assistance; others of them soone after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a setledness by the strength and

influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes; at once, despising the Kirk Government, and Discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargable, more then charitable assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happinesse of Reformed government and discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendome for their advice in a full and free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially setled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods justice, and mans folly will at length be discovered, through all the filmes and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designes; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can those considerations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and respects toward Me, as to make Me to despaire of their returne; when besides the bonds of nature and Conscience,

which they have to Me, all Reason and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crowne, not in their serviceablenesse to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honour for their owne advantages: However the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply My self to God.

The Troubles of My Soule are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of My distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver Me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyne in hand, yet let them not prevaile against My soule, to the betraying of My Conscience, and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turne the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of *Judah* and *Israel*, to restore *David* with as much loyall Zeale, as they did with inconstancy and eagernesse pursue Him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightnesse

in Me, and I shall not despaire of My Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canst soone cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let me not be ashamed; let not My enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute My Soule.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve Me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

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14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THE *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant:

Where many engines of religious and faire pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacy; This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it

more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemne a charm & exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand yeares possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a young Heyre, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chaire & Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England ;* which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My selfe with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the designe and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church ; and such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths & Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no cleare morall necessity ; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men : whereto the application of Oaths can

hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgment, and certainty in ones selfe, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses faire and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintaine the Religion established in the Church of *England:* since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politicke and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the popularity fast to their Parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Lawes, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed

by a few men in a declared Party, without My consent, and without any like power or president from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects consciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies; since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then such ends and meanes they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavour to carry on the best designes, (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unlesse they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties, before their knowne and sworne duties, which are indispensable, both to God and My selfe.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firme to this judgment, That such later Vowes, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out those former gravings, and characters, which

by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Soules.

That which makes such Confederations by way of solemn Leagues & Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the cõmon road, used in all factious & powerfull perturbations of State or Church: When formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more studied and elaborate, then, when Politicians most agitate desperate designes against all that is setled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws, which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wrested by secret steps, and lesse sensible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practise, to comply with the humours of those men, who ayme to subdue all to their owne will and power, under the disguises of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Consciences no longer, then force attends and twists them: for every man soone growes his owne Pope, and easily absolves himselfe of those ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Lawes of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terrour of a Party casts upon him; either superfluous and vaine, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they find the Imposers

really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegall waies seldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Designe intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, the diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions, and reservations, so as they crosse not though chiefe Designe which is laid against the Church, and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; So little doe men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over

their heads in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God:* for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certaine and fixed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the generall; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appeare, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoyne it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publique Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession, and practise) such foule scandals and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than My self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advise) be, by Gods Word, and right reason, convinced to be amisse, I have offered more than ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire. But the sequele of some mens actions makes it evident, that the maine Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights than the Bishops, and Church-men. These,

as the fattest Deare, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne with My Consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to doe: So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason

and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due incouragements ; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Taske ; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the red sea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteems it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions ; equally abhorring, Sacriledge, and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as my Predecessour *Henry* 3. sometime did, on the Churches Almes, then violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony & Dowry ; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests, & People, is well enough known : And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have beene nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers, and Step-mothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of

England cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no lesse than a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our owne power; it being every mans sinne not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repaire the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, doe I addresse My prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall, and indispensable bonds, which

thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacriledge under the Zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designes to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as wil be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique,

which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soone recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is growne so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Lawes are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poore may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as *Naboth's* Vineyard to *Ahab*, gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to doe wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

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15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stirre up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems & conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designes: For, I can more willingly loose My Crownes, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdomes so deare to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead & gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foule and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter downe their loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thanke God, the detriment of My Honour is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples soules, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soone mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions: wherein they doe not onely, not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then feare God most, when they least honour their King.

I thanke God, I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more than

their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errours, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath so farre accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to doe him better service, and My people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most

of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the Injuries done to My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My self; our welfares being inseparable; in this only they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraigne Enemies, I could have borne it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah;* If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds the storm of their miseries would be rather encreased then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happinesse; if it could expiate, or countervail such a way of obtaining

it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die many deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonourably to betray My own just Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice, & other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, so Malicious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evill manners, and seared Consciences, which

will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandalls, which they have cast on Me ; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not-suppressing of them ; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave Me more cause to suspect, and search My own Innocency ; then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety ; For this gave to vulgar mindes so bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God ; to think or speak well of Me, and not to Blaspheme him ; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above

that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Me, then forsake Me.

Nor is it strange that so religious Pretensions as were used against Me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulnesse of the means used, nor the depth of the mischeif, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakness of these mens judgments must be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize Me and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not downe Mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancy of My Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor doe I know any exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesse in that

Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to those well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have setled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the most calme, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against My Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevaile.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the samenesse of duty, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they owne as men, and Christians

to God ; the second, they owe to Me in Common, as their KING ; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes : And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions ?

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My self.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aide of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours ; who seem to have learned and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects when I was disputed with by Swords points : and when I needed

the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evill Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their owne, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsell that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedome, as a Man; or honour, as a King; making their counsels more like a drench that must be powred downe, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely dranke, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties My selfe, or My Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were farre more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormious extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some

have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me, or My Subjects.

No even were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My self, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian Patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their designes, was, The noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular

sense; which is to doe what every man liketh best.

If the Divinest liberty be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Lawes, and Religion; I envie not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy My self; So farre am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Me so prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous designes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peeres, and People, will ever desire greater Freedomes then the Lawes allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Menacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth his rule and direction; losing justly his safety while he seekes an unreasonable liberty.

Time will best informe My Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousnesse against, or beyond the Lawes.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardinesse to use their King with so severe restraints; against all Lawes, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth, and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tendernesse (attended with humility and meeknesse, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seekes to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schisme) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Lawes and Scepter should intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Consciences; and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for Conscience sake, giving no men liberty to break the Law established, further then with meeknesse and patience, they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after Novelties, others despair to relieve the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods providence, as well as their own

merits) were the secret (but principall) impulsives to these popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend much of those plentifull Estates they got, and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My self exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and encrease the ungratefull insolencies of My People.

For Mine Honour, I am well assured, that as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; so My reputation shall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendour, as those ferall birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will doe Me good, for some mens hard, false, and evill speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by

those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and downe to set all places on like flames) than those men doe, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetfull of their duty to God and Me : By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speake evill of dignities, and bring railing accusations against these*, who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, should not Honour their KING.

They will easily contemne such shadowes of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity ; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without sinne seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veiles be able to hide the shining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majesty.

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My dishonour, My Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soule is among Lyons, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of Men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and those that are mad against Me are sworne together.

O My God, how long shall the sonnes of men turne My glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest My Enemies prevaile against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies; the Lord will abhorre both the bloud-thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnesse to appeare as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noone day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile againe; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer *Shimei's* tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on *David* he

might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evill-speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me *Davids* patience and *Hezekiah's* devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let *Sheba's* seditious speeches, *Rabshekah's* railing, and *Shimei's* cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, doe thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.

Looke downe from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

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16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Booke.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gaine reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, must needs undoe whatever was formerly setled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdome or godlinesse.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly beares a great part in Religion, (being the Soules more immediate converse with the divine Majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People than to tel them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, or Formes of constant Prayers must be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily

consent, but) wholly cashiered, and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Booke, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Lawes in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary veyne and fluency: or others, who conscious to their owne formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, & a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Booke, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery & Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and prescribed Formes, there is no doubt but that wholsome words being knowne and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a wel-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulnesse.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhorre, or be forbidden to use the same Formes of prayer, since he praies to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as wel before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray ; and in what words, as to what sense ; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words ? our appetite and disgestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I heare, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their owne invention, and gifts, that they not onely disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lord's Prayer ;* whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall patterne of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens

abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expressions, in Publique prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, than that which they call Coldnesse and Barrennesse: Nor are men in those novelties lesse subject to formall and superficiall tempers (as to their hearts) than in the use of constant Formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the most extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy: Nor are constant Formes of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer, and devotion, than unpremeditated and confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their owne, and the Peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite justle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Booke were; who may in all reason be

thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advise, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, informe the Hearers understanding, and stirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soule of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) than any priyate man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew) the affectations, emptinesse, impertinency, rudenesse, confusions, flatnesse, levity, obscurity, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the senselesse, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent, & flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall administrations, and the like, which are still the same; Ministers must

either come to use their own Formes constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty, as Formes of Publick composure; or else they must every time affect new expressions when the subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnesse, order, and gravity, becomming those duties; which by this means are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders, and defects, both for judgment and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdome and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick composure.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errours, schimes, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and

abett those innovations, (that men may not seeme to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-book; or refused to use it, cried out of the rigour of Lawes and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their Consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Lyturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity as not to suffer without penalty, any to use the Common-prayer-Book publickly, although their Consciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then such, whose pride was

formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humours most pretended Conscientious liberties, which freedome, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve Me, whose abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Lawes, they should have beene driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to displease some faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I beleeve they have offended more considerable men; not onely for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are, whose weaknesse or giddinesse they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I beleeve, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbeare Reproaches, and even

Cursings of Me in their owne formes, instead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Formes of sound and wholsome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy; Thou deniest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants; nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirituall perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where

either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their owne abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Errour consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formality.

Lord keep us from formall Hypocrisie in our owne hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with *David*, and other holy men) in the same formes cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdome to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind Zeale, and over-bold devotion.

17. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.*

TOUCHING the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been that I am earnest and resolute to maintaine it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restraine the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so farre the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevaile much by their Oratory to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) intrusted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elswhere given an account) was sufficient

to take off any suspicion, that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affaires: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgment is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till of late yeares, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdome;* the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new waies: contrary to the full, and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed

by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed, that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy patterne: That since the first Age, for 1500 years not one example can be produced of any setled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universall practise agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture-directions and examples, are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the setling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of wel-being, than the want of the word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and Apostolicall constitution: which to Me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to the maine scope and designe of those Epistles, for the setling of a peculiar

Office, Power, and Authority, in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be call'd *Bishops;* as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

Th humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that speciall dignity which had extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, untill use, (the great arbitrator of words, and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary

and constant power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whose name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that speciall authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancy, to those, who were by Apostolicall propagation rightly descended & invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus;* whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopall claime, as from divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound doctrine, and cleare testimonies of all Churches practise, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytours and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the forme, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancy & authority of that power of Episcopall

Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publique) that I had faire grounds both from Scripture-Canons, & Ecclesiastical examples, whereon My judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to Me as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and My dearest relations with My Kingdomes have sustained, and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the best rule, and the Churches Universall practise the best commentary, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity, then it is in all secular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more beleeve, that such order is incon-

sistent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Not is it likely that God, who appointed severall orders, & a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the principles of schisme and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolicall wisdome (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied so many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdome and piety of the Apostles, that first setled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and injoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit meanes to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-

men ; besides, it will be a meanes to take away that burden, and *odium* of affaires, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magisteriall ; and wherein not only the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function ; but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it : It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs : And I find they have, as farre lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason ; so for examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute, wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affaires rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdomes lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in some points of Doctrine, yet you shall never perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolicall:

So far, that never Schismaticks, nor Hereticks (except those Arians) have strayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late generall approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdomes, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their Consciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free & impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, against their obedience to the Lawes in force, and against My consent, have not only quite cryed down the Government by Bishops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and most illegall stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens

judgements ; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appeare the greatest Enemies to, and Betrayers of their owne interest ; for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers wil find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People, and of Princes, as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clegy-men will soone let them see, what a poore carcasse they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworne.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs ; I am firme to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reforme, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons ; which

seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhorre.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, & Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meannesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgment of men failed My good intention made My errour veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect;

which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restraine them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Ministers equall; and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knows) I doe not gratifie any designe or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Me their KING and Soveraigne, as some men have endeavoured to doe, against all these grounds of My Judgment, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desires not more than I doe, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other waies: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy & solitude; when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles

were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being necessary for the Churches welbeing, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blowne up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeale for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on worke to eate up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to Me is no lesse sin, than Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himselfe.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfullnesse of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soone, with Judgment, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn ; How can any man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade Me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacriledge and Perjury ? besides the many personall Injustices, I must doe to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them ; and they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Livelyhoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tendernesse of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary

to all that Rationall and Religious freedome which every man ought to preserve; & of which they seem so tender in their own Votes, yet at the same time these men will needs perswade Me, That I must, and ought to dispence with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange My lot should be valid in that part, which both My self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious & unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall liberty of our soules; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think My selfe justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill dissentions; till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knowes) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor; as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give My consent; yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions

of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can My late condescending to the *Scots* in point of Church-government, be righly objected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms, For it should be considered that Episcopacy was not so rooted and setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, & at all times.

If any shall impute My yeilding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeilding to them been so happy and successefull as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgment to be biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontednesse of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the

contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose paternes are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, workes of Piety or Charity have so flourished beyond what they have done in, My Kingdomes (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it farre better to hold to primitive and uniforme Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affaires should be managed neither with tyrannie, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For Thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse, and tendernesse, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborne against my Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintaine thine owne Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed; others passe by without regard, either to pity, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to be Master of my other Rights as a KING, yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.

Preserve, from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporall blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sinnes and errours, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wild Boare, and subtill Foxes, to wast and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not beare the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian KING in this Kingdome, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errours I would rather, with *Constantine*, cover with silence, and reforme with meeknesse, than expose their persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

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18. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other offers made by the* KING.

I LOOK upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, than My Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yeild to the first, that I thought neither My selfe, nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, than Force; but also of Christianity to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend My

self with Armes, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all Warre by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil Warre uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as farre as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happinesse; or of such consequence; as in the least kind to have hindred My Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years, before ever those demands were made, some of which, to deny, I think the greatest Justice to My self, and favour to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in warre, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affaires, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon Me; yet I was willing to condescend so farre to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, than any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elswhere set downe My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the primitive Apostolicall patterne, and the practise of the Universall Church conforme thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any prob-

able reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in Me, as wfll rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, than crosse some mens Factious humours.

God knowes, and time will discover, who were most too blame for the un-succesfulnesse of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of Peace to My people, than the preservation of my own Crowns to my Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all faire Condescendings, as Arguments of feeblenesse, and glory most in an unflexible stifnesse, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwaies to aske something, which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of Warre; en-

deavouring first to make Me destroy My selfe by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the lesse to doe.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restivenesse, is imputable to their owne depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refused.

The highest tide of successe set me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any signe of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawne to produce our owne reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the most part presage the unsuccesfulnesse of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonablenesse they were loath to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their

advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gaine by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy selfe: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to Warre.

Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others.

Cleare up our understandings, to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee; and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of Warre we have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which only Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the Warre; Victories, and Defeats.*

THE various Successes of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to trie Me with Victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to owne, and use his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hosts;* able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those, that fought against Me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part he let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach Me not to trust in the arme of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My Cause: & those that were with Me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was began by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their Soules.

Those with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Armes.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Feares, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Lawes: first by unsuppressing the Tumults, after by listed Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their demands against the present Lawes & Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them, some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against Me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied only to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantageous designes by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and My self, which

lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their Soules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyall fiercenesse could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against My side in the Field, but never, I believe, at the barre of Gods Tribunall, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the only plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Me, and the Lawes established; in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Country doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is farre more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on My side might joyn true piety with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own soules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shewes, or truth of

piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without My sorrow, because it was on Mine owne Subjects, who, like *Absolom*, died many of them in their sinne: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made Me despaire of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but onely restore the Lawes and Liberties of My people; which I saw were extreamly oppressed, together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over My self. When the first was denied,

the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by punishing our sinnes, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in Warre: as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocency forbade Me to feare a Warre; but the love of My Kingdomes commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing, but this, That I gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeilded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the Warre; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sinnes was

(no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to destroy one another: for, the most prosperous successes on either side, impaire the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sinnes un-subdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desireable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Warres; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor doe I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest vistory over my self, and my Enemies by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our owne strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evill from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my selfe in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer; I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these civill distractions, but a chiefe Instrument to restore and establish a firme, and blessed Peace to my Kingdomes.

Stirre up all Parties pious ambitions to overcome

each other with reason, moderation, and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sinnes of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of warre; so for the sinnes of warre thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the bloud of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingnesse and griefe, hath been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that pretious bloud, which hath been shed for me, by my great Peacemaker, Jesus Christ. Who will, I trust, redeem me shortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour Me so farre, as to make Me an Instrument of so good a worke, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see after the freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion setled; which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance the passions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite scandall of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church; what novelties of Schismes, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confusions in sacred administrations; what sacrilegious invasions upon the

Rights and Revenues of the Church ; what contempt & oppressions of the Clergy ; what injurious diminutions and persecutings of Me, have followed, (as showres do warm gleames) the talke of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesses, and with My self, sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeale, and the publique sense ; so that the study to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are sure the best tempers of reforming Councels, and endeavours : what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen ; the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so its like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church Affaires, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen ; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England ;* nor with freedome

and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and feares, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion against examples of all Ancient Churches; the Lawes in force, and My consent; which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any

positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbitery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbitery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsells; and such (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designes: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations, and discontents.

The specious and popular titles, of Christs Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at least) also the noise of a through Reformation, these may as easily be fined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windowes, which Time had sufficiently defaced ; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civill, not Religious marks ; defacing of the Monuments, and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posterity in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light, wherein they live ; The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publick service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say *Amen ;* nor what adventure he may make, of seeming, at least, to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The setting forth also of old Catechismes, and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much, as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before some four or five yeares consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to,

nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation ; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and every will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work, to doe Gods work, and not their own : Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Lawes, and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civill Warre ; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self & all My Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should form and set up : If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more

of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations, to such private designes as must needes hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civill State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor wil any men in impartiall times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirme Mine, not overthrow it, since as I owne Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darknesse, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our owne soules.

That we may in clearnesse of judgment, and uprightnesse of heart be meanes to reforme what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us cleane hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may doe all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions,

and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgements; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull waies shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary worke. That I and my People may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

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21. *Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THE taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they know not how with honour and civility to use it: Nor doe I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of vertue and Noblenesse being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which

are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expose them to publique view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captations, which some men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts:

Where they might discover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve My owne Rights, than to procure their peace and happinesse, and that extreame grief to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to see My constancy to My Wife, the Lawes, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of my Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies; no

man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth, since my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how soon mens design, like *Absoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of My chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to My own, then My peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those My Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act My own, and My Kingdomes Affaires, so as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath should be bel eved of me, as if I were wholly confined

to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of Evill Counsellours.

Its probable some men will now look upon me as my own Counsellour, and having none else to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my own Conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing me to think their Counsels to be other then good for me, which have so long maintained a War against Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperity gaines the greatest esteem and applause; as adversity exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect: As if good fortune were alwayes the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seeme sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectuall to their designes as those, that most rout and waste my Credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all meanes to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdomes; First I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Justice can, and will overrule the most perverse wills and designes of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor doe I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more then so many papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be pay'd to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, present, and after-times will judge.

And I cannot think that their owne consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God blest the modest respect and filiall tendernesse, which *Noah's* Sonnes bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants;* which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirme by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose Me, to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any reall uncomelinesse; which, I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have

rendred Me as a Vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any Notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affaires; make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of *Achitophel*, turning it to *Davids* good, and his owne ruine: so canst thou defeat their designe, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to My People.

I must first appeale to thy Omniscience, who canst witnesse with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to returne on their owne heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their owne confusion; as with a Cloake.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all meanes to

cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anoynted.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crowne of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountaine of goodnesse, and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdome, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set Me; who art the lifter up of My head, and My salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALTHOUGH God hath given Mee three Kingdomes, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety & Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellour, and commands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them, may dis-arme and overcome them; my rendring my Person to Them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they meane not what they doe, but what they say.

Yet must God be My chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellour and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soule to God, and My selfe; nor shall any necessities compel Me, to desert Mine Honour, or swerve from My Judgment.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusuall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to desert Me of all Military power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humame affaires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those, that have Adhered to Me, and apply to those that have Opposed Me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, than that of Warre, both to stop the effusion of bloud, and to

close those wounds already made: and in it I am no lesse solicitous for My Friends safety, than Mine owne; chusing to venture My selfe upon further hazards, rather than expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to goe over, than to contest in vaine.

I must now study to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My mind with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Souls liberty, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Armes, to have perswaded My consent to their new demands.

I thank God no successe, darkens or disguises Truth to me; and I shall no lesse conforme my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power*.

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think my self weakned while I may make full and free use of that. No eclypse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morosity to deny, what is fit to be

granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reason and Religion bids me deny.

I shall never think my self lesse than my self while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of my Conscience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Soules, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my selfe.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battaile, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perversnesse of will, but just perswasions of Honour, Reason, and Religion, which have made me thus farre to hazard my Person, Peace, and Safety, against those, that by force have sought to wrest them from Mee.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompany Me, in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of My Soule, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead Me in the paths of thy righteousnesse, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my waies to please thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

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23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YET may I justifie those *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should doe it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essays, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of *Ægypt* break under the hand of

him that leans on them : yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity, and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare my Soule in sin ; nor gaine that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my Person into their power ; since my Soule is still my owne ; nor shall they ever gaine my Consent against my Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellours with me, but a good Conscience in me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish me; not more a King, and farre lesse both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtaine, neither shall Restraint; which though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The feare of men shall never be my snare; nor shall the love of any liberty entangle my soule: Better others betray me, than my self: and that the price of my liberty should be my Conscience; the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my owne consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy My self & Mine.

Although they should destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so deare to me, as the peace of my Conscience, the Honour of my Crownes, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more than any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Lawes will, by Gods blessing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldome.

After-times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not; and God may at length shew my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them; happily I might redeem my selfe to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirme many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whose solitude hath not left Me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with Me, whose presence is better than life ; and whose service is perfect freedome.

Owne Me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complaine for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse Me still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chrictian ; and with Constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou sufferest Me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve Me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy selfe ; and which, cannot be taken from Me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyle over My passion to any impatience, or sordid feares.

There be many say of Me, There is no help for Me : doe thou lift up the light of thy Countenance, upon Me, and I shall neither want safety, liberty, nor Majesty.

Give Me that measure of patience and Constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from Men defeated, My Person restrained : O be not thou farre from Me, lest My Enemies prevaile too much against Me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorne to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soule trusteth in thee: yea and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviour merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vayl and shadow of death, yet shall I feare none ill.

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24. *Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplaines.*

WHEN Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civill comforts and secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplyed by the attendance of some of My Chaplaines; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their

Fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thornes, and after the plowings of temporall crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wildernesse to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denyed in those things, where the evill policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort of My Chaplaines seemes a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy,

as not ayming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damne their Soules.

But My Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angell; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and Discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to be.

They that envy My being a King, are loath I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save my Soul.

Other sense, Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of My Chaplaines.

I have sometime thought the Unchristiannesse of those denialls might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot thinke them so proper for any present comforters or Physitians; Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotionall complyance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed

with Me, and for Me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consists in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some comforters more miserable then misery it self; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perswade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to despair of Gods mercy; and by Justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred function, that I have hazarded my owne Interests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintaine their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my duty the more to appeare as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomly requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that

injurious contempt and meannesse, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none : onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My speciall Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgment, and most sutable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to heare no mens prayers, than to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans owne understanding, or belying his owne soule.

In Devotions I love neither profane boldnesse, nor pious non-sense ; but such an humble and judicious gravity as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate both of Gods Majesty, the Churches honour, and his owne Vilenesse ; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the Divine Mercy for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately ; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and

premeditated Sermons, so with such publique Formes of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily & common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn My heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency; which as I doe not wholly exclude from publique occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, doe require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the maine and most necessary requisites both in constant, and occasionall, solitary, and sociall Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a

piece of rare composure and use ; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men ; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of rayling against, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ soli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by seeming to pray what I doe not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Denyers sufficient of My selfe to discharge My duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might well become the same Person ; as anciently they were under one name, & the united rights of primogeniture : Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon ;* not more famous for their Scepters and Crownes, than one was for devout Psalmes and Prayers ; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching : whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued : it being infinitely more glorious to convert

Soules to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome and providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorry to find My selfe reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty; would no lesse enforce Me to live many Months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My owne Chaplaine.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My owne, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, than those, which are encombred with secular affaires: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soule is subject

to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to God, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royall Priesthood; yet as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and I think more pious Principles: the consciousnesse to My spirituall defects makes Me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce Me: so as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from Me: and to leave Me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny Me, than this of having some meanes afforded Me for My Soules comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no lesse than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but only this, that they may seem

too able and too well affected toward Me and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve My self; though I must confesse I beare with more grief & impatience the want of My Chaplaines, than of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary meanes, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me and help My Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Oratour or Instructer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, doe I direct My now solitary prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darknesse, and quicken My dulnesse.

O thou Son of righteousnesse, thou sacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare and warme my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulnesse: From thee all-sufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of *Jacob* prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duell, when he had none to second him but thy selfe; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unity of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wildernesse, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a coale scattered from all those pious glowings, and

devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruized Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, doe not despise the weaknesse of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soule in this uncomfortable lonenesse; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denialls of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnesse encline thine eare to me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not heare; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help Me thy desolate Supplyant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debarre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me; thou

wilt heare me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord canst at once make me thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned teares my self to thee; who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou O Lord didst cause by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handfull of meale in the vessell should not spend, nor the little oyle in the cruise fayle the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate & forsaken: let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholsome food for the refreshing of my Soule.

Which yet I had rather chuse than to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wrest

thy holy Scriptures to My destruction, (which are cleare for their subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devoure the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those mens balmes break my head, nor their Cordialls oppresse my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickednesse.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all those Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

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25. *Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the* KING'S *solitude at* Holmeby.

GIVE ear to my words O Lord, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of

thine eyes ; neverthelesse thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be extream to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it ? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared ; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledg my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition ; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall, and my Peoples sinnes ; which are so farre mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good : Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects : Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come far short of *Davids* piety ; yet since I may equall *Davids* afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of *David*.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evills, which I and my Kingdomes have

suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turne thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrowes of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesses, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleeved to see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sinnes of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretched out still; Let it I beseech thee be against me, and my Fathers house; as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee doe thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee; so hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and my Kingdomes; In continuing the light of thy Gospell, and setling thy true Religion among us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turne the hearts of my people to thy self in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civill Warres

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of public Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crownes; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice, and my Kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever own as the rightfull succession, so the mercifull restauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with peace, safety, and honour, to My chiefest City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt againe put the Sword of Justice into My hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very

Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charity, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I doe freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the waies of amnesty, and indempnity, which may most fully remove all feares, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Heare my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out of fayned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soule, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies Surprisall of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

WHAT part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man, who onely seeks to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevaile against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder ; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen ;* and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitternesse and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their KING ; what they demand for their owne Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigour, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Lawes, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their owne will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timerous to carry on any designe they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which soone after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sinne in the glasse of the present terrours and distractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the hand of divine justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their owne Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin, but adde sin to sin, till the latter punish the former; such as were content to see Me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens

justice ? the Members of both Houses who at first withdrew, (as My self was forced to doe) from the rudenesse of the Tumults, were counted Desertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complaine highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Army: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary insolencies, and Betrayers of the freedome and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages than their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authours and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified

themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their owne crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them doe, or suffer, any thing unworthy such great & considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despaire of their Loyalty to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storme be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and teares, with compassionate griefe, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindnesse frequently attending and punishing wilfulnesse, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace.

They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not farre from becomming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gaine a faire period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of fansie, than in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publique consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the knowne Laws, than to the various wils of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it self, and ends in a refractory sullennesse: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publike peace that they should be satisfied, as far as is just; no man being more prone to consider them than My self: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so farre esteem that valour & gallantry they have sometime shewed,

as to wish I may never want such men to maintain My selfe, My Lawes, and My Kingdoms, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the strivings of My People, and make Me to see how much they need My prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against Me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another; to the continuance of My Kingdomes distractions.

Discover to all sides the waies of peace, from which they have swarved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due observation of the Lawes.

Make Me willing to go whither thou wilt lead Me by thy providence; and be thou ever with Me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity which thou alone canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to add fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, & their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and un-destroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the cleare convictions of their owne consciences, fight more against themselves than ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon ; and in My

dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they have denied Me in My saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse they were for Me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not My bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Me by My sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, than of mans cruelty or thy owne justice.

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27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SON, if these papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartiall thoughts, touching the chiefe passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgement aright in what hath passed; whereof, a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also

give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when I find My leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of My self, and usefull to you; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure My Cause by the Successe; nor My Judgment of things by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, because they have so farre lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as My self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wisedome you have above most Princes; that you have begun, and now spent some yeares of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees set in winter) then in the warmth, and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering

formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwayes remember they are born and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Reboboam:* The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom, the other softned by the unparalel'd prosperity of *Solomons* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in summer; whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charles le Bow*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces, and gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign disposer of the King-

domes of the world, who pulleth downe one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Soveraignty you can attain to is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good : Also in the dispensation of civill Power, with Justice and Honour to the Publick Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous ; at least it will keep you from being miserable ; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his owne soule at last.

To which Center of true Happinesse God, I trust, hath and will graciously direct all these black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already ; wel-grounded and setled in your Religion : The best profession of which, I have ever esteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated ; yet I would have your own Judge-

ment and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custome or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as comming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be not more necessary for your soules then your Kingdomes peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angell of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeale.

So that, unlesse in this point You be well setled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretensions of reforming matters of Religion; for that seemes, even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designes.

Where, besides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous ; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well setled ; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one side, gaines you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth you in others ; who think themselves, and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you : Take such a course as may either wth calmnes & charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affaires in point of Power that you shal not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone : The Serpent will devour the Dove : you may never expect lesse of loyalty, justice, or humanity, than from those, who engage into religious Rebellion ; Their interest is alwaies made Gods ;

under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Jacob's* voice, but you shall feele they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeares; so compliant they were to publique order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgments: But as soone as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected mart, which causes inflamations) so did all, at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master: till time and military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniforme Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or desplicable to you in matters which concerne Religion and the Churches

peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectual suppressing Errours & Schismes, which seem at first but as a handbredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soule and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civill Justice, wherein the setled Laws of these Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the most excellent rules you can governe by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and prerogative of any King, who ownes his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Lawes to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crowne, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot returne any thing

of strength, honour, or safety, to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed, and exercised in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Lawes; there being nothing worse than legall Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion, and Lawes, I may (without vanity) turne the reproach of My sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of My owne Conscience; The Troublers of My Kingdomes having nothing else to object against Me but this, That I preferre Religion, and Lawes established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I doe, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learne that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publique Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deale with Me, as to the removall of

these pressures, & indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retaine in My soule, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soule, the Church, and My People, and to You also, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You, as I hope he will; My counsell and charge to You, is, That You seriously consider the former, reall, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity and discretion, in managing affaires of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your selfe, or others, a diffidence of Your owne judgment, which is likely to be alwaies more constant & impartiall to the

interests of Your Crowne and Kingdome than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Lawes, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up solid piety, and those fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the best incouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an

equall eye, and impartiall hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine You the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer waies of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Lawes established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Lawes, and to Me) and are secured from that feare, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious designes, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up & hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is not lesse cruell, so he will be more

justly hated, when he shall appeare no better than a Wolfe under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Traine of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My charge and counsell to You, is That as You need no palliations for any designes, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so You shall neither feare any detection, (as they doe, who have but the face and maske of goodnesse) nor shall You frustrate the just expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous constancy of their King.

When these mountaines of congealed factions shall by the sunshine of Gods mercy, and the splendor of Your virtues be thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, that none are greater Oppressours of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences, than those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrones and Vindicators of them, onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray You to any study of revenge upon those, whose

owne sinne and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soone as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts, and clemency to heale the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equall the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwaies propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and I thanke God, I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, than those Subjects, who sensible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their owne Soules most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality sets You beyond any Duell with any Subject; so the noblenesse of Your mind must raise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to Your owne merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope You will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Lawes have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sinne can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy

to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never see My face againe, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment & obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I doe require and entreat You as your Father, and your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the speciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meannesse of fantastique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may happily need some sweetning, or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe

and gentle hand; if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandall of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or Your owne thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late Warre against the Church, the Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England:* which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeale abate Your value and esteem of true piety, both of them are to be knowne by their fruits; the sweetnesse of the Wine & Figtree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thornes should pretend to beare Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertain any aversation,

or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedome and Honour, will never injure or diminish Your greatnesse, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that Freedome, and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) since the publique interest consists in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in faire, grave, and Honourable waies to contribute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publique consent; without tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsome food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to Our Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sinne, and

suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to weare a Crowne, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious tearms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, You shall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of Your honour will consist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to blesse Me with so many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by Your wisdome, justice, piety, and valour, of what, the folly and wickednesse of some men have so farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church

or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Lawes, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed Me, (for I know not how farre God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I beseech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted Me, or engaged against Me, through the artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horrour will be their first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING, so I believe You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In summe, what good I intended, doe You performe; when God shall give You power: much good

I have offered, more I purposed to Church & State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soone vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since My Restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God blesse You, and establish Your Kingdomes in righteousnesse, Your Soule in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and Your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction; let My memory ever, with My name, live in you; as of Your Father, that loves You: and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church,

the power of the Lawes, the honour of My Crowne, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and my owne Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdomes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore Me to My Rights. I cannot despaire either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before You to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His Majesties *closer Imprisonment in* Carisbrooke-Castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death: for I know, there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the space, but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruell passions, whose envy or enmity against Me makes their owne lifes seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality:

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertaine: Death being an eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy daies.

But My now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in Me those naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the speciall horrour of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although My death at present may justly be represented to Me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affaires being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the antidote of his Death against them; which as to the immaturity, unjustice, shame,

scorne, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can feare.

Indeed, I never did find so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life ; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die, or ashamed to live : true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to die ; if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meales, and make us overlive our owne fates ; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate ; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love and goodwill of My People ; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead : notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility

to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O My Soule! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of wearinesse of life; and a want of that heroick greatnesse of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose totall absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampson's* Lyon, but they yeild much sweetnesse to those,

that dare to encounter and overcome them ; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishnesse, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a Man, is certain ; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sodain, and barbarous death ; in the strength of My years ; in the midst of My Kingdoms ; My Friends and loving Subjects being helplesse Spectators ; My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty ; however, I despaire not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My Life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice ; but yet under Gods sole custody & disposall : Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die ; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, & to submit to his will both in life & death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me. I confesse it is not easie for Me to contend with those many horrours of death, wherewith God suffers Me to be tempted ; which are equally horrid, either in the suddennesse of a barbarous Assasination : or in those greater formalities,

whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruell) will, it may be, seeke to adde (as those did, who Crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make My death appeare as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraigne; who know that no Law of God or Man invests them with any power of Judicature without Me, much lesse against Me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and Man, to endeavour My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Soveraigne; wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, must by shedding My bloud seem to wash their own hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their owne consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes meane spirits more cowardly-cruell

in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation;* notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first the monstrousnesse of their designes, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whose right it is, be cast out and slaine.

With them, My greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy My selfe with the Church and State by My Word, or not suffer them to doe it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdome of brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of those, whose right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both My Protectour, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I owne as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over

them : who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrones of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of My death among themselves : the injuries I have sustained from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.

Their impatience to beare the loud cry of My bloud, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions following My destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Me by those I have lived to see since My troubles ; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many waies pleaded My cause ; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sinne was their onely security ; who have cause to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up death in

the victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate his example in suffering for righteousnesse sake, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over My Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christs bloud to wash their soules from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seems to be their onely rule, their power the measure, and their successe the Exactor, of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their owne safety by My danger, and the security of their lives designes by My Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sinne are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from Me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands

by deserting Me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to My death are embrued with My bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercy I believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will farre surpasse all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the substance of that heavenly kingdome with himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessary tyranny of my Destroyers will sufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny against me; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of my Subjects, who doe not onely

pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for me.

These know, how to excuse my failings, as a man, and yet to retaine, and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious necessity binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publike; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer tempers, and lesse advantaged by my ruine, doe already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evill dealings against me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their owne thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nailes been so cruell as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* & his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince & Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdaine

of their ill-gotten and worse-used Authority : upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designes against Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust, is made with God ; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not feare to appeare, as to the Cause, so long disputed by the Sword, between me and my causlesse Enemies : where I doubt not, but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly successe (rather like Sophisters, than sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions ; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, wch his revealed Word (the onely cleare, safe and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my Cause, and clearness of My Conscience before God & toward my people will carry me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion : who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the designe. The prosperous winds which oft fill

the sayles of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soule, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the just liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborne them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designes they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies, than my Friends; while those will put a period to the sinnes and sorrows attending this miserable life; wherewith these desire, I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered:

as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which, I have been forced to contend against Errour, Faction, and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for sinne to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my owne sinne, as from God, and the effect of others sinnes, as men, both against God and me; yet as I hope my own sinnes are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, I pray God they may obtain; that my temporall death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall destruction of

the greatest King, as farre lesse deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, than the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me overboard; though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the storme, themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soul with my Body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despaire, they have only discover'd this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obstructed my accesse to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountaine of eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Afflicter of death

upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee; than by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in My Soule, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with Me, I shall neither feare nor feel any evill, though I walke through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the worke of a weake and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with Me, as a Man; make Me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest Me, yet thou hast incouraged me to trust in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designes of those who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou givest me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from me; but thou hast taught Me as a Christian by the example of Christ to adde, not My will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errours of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gaine; and in death, advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet doe not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they lose their owne Soules?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but

wholly usurped and turned it against my self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Sonne a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for My Murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damne their owne Soules by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruell; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for My bloud, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Soules with the bloud of thy Sonne, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too

little to entertaine at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the same Redeemer, we shall live farre above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the armes of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repaied in thy ever-blessed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS

APPENDIX I

In Lambeth Palace Library is Archbishop Tenison's copy of Eikon Basilike, in which he has himself written as follows :—"Dr. Mew, Lord Bishop of Winchester, had often told me and repeated it again before ye Bishop of Peterburgh in ye Bishop's chamber, on January 30th, 1698, before we went to Westminster Abbey, that at Naseby fight he saw ye King's Closet Keeper, before ye fight began, carry out the King's papers to ye Camp; and that after ye fight he saw divers of them torn, and amongst these fragments took up some pieces of Eikon Basilike, written with ye King's own hand. Tho. Cantuar." [1]

The Rev. Dr. Gorge, Chaplain to Charles the First, and present at the battle of Naseby, June 14th, 1645, told Dr. George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. Davids, that he was employed by His Majesty

[1] Bibliography, p. 15.

after that defeat, to retrieve certain papers lost in his cabinet, in which some private thoughts and meditations of that good King were set down, the loss of which troubled him more than all the other papers of his which fell into his enemies' hands that day. It was with some difficulty that they were obtained from the Conqueror, but restored they were; and Dr. Gorge said he found they were the same as to the matters preceding that dismal day with those printed in Eikon Basilike.[1]

The following two statements of William Levet, page of the bedchamber to the King, are very clear. The latter was addressed to Seymour Bourman, Esqre., Lincoln's Inn Fields:—"If any one has a desire to know the true author of a book, entitled Eikon Basilike, I, one of the servants of King Charles the First, in his bedchamber, do declare, when his said Majesty was prisoner in the Isle of Wight, that I read over the above mentioned book (which was long before the said book was printed) in his bedchamber, writ with His Majesty's own hand, with several interlinings. I can testify also, that Royston the printer told me, that he was imprisoned by Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, because he would not declare that King

[1] Bibliography, p. 88.

Charles the First was not the author of the said book.

"Signed and sealed, October 16th, 1690.

"WILLIAM LEVET." [1]

"DEAR BROTHER,

"I waited on His Majesty, as page of the bedchamber in ordinary, during all the time of his solitudes (except when I was forced from him). And specially being nominated by His Majesty to be one of his servants, among others, that should attend him during the treaty of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, I had the happiness to read the same often-times in manuscript, under His Majesty's own hand, being pleased to leave it in the window in his own bedchamber, where I was always obliged to attend His Majesty's coming thither." [2]

Then going on to describe the arrest and removal of the King to Hurst Castle, he writes :—

"During the time of His Majesty's making himself ready, he concerned himself only how to secure this book of his, and a small cabinet, wherein he secured his letters to his Queen, who was then beyond the sea. And His Majesty having procured a pass for me

[1] Bibliography, p. 90. [2] *Ib.* p. 91.

from the said Governor, that I should wait on him there, he gave me in charge this said book, and small cabinet, which I faithfully presented to His Majesty's own hands that night in Hurst Castle. But the Governor, by what information is too tedious to insert here at this time, and therefore I omit it, did on Saturday banish me out of the castle. I should have sent you a relation, which I had of Royston the King's printer, for the printing of the said book, by His Majesty's special command, brought to him by a Divine, but not to be printed till after the King's death, which he observed accordingly. For which Cromwell sent for him to Whitehall, not only promising rewards, but also threatening punishments, if he would not deny that he printed it by His Majesty's order. Which he refusing to do, did imprison him for about a fortnight; but seeing he could not work upon him, released him.

"Which is all at present from your affectionate brother to serve you,

"William Levet."[1]

[1] Bibliography, p. 91.

APPENDIX II

A copy of the first edition, in contemporary black morocco; inscribed "For my Lady Boteler," in the handwriting of Sir Philip Warwick. When the Civil War began, Sir William Boteler, Lady Boteler's first husband, raised and armed, at his own expense, a regiment for the King, and was killed, fighting desperately for the King, at Cropredy Bridge. The Roundheads afterwards turned his widow out of house and home, fining her heavily for her loyalty. Later she married Sir Philip Warwick, a devoted cavalier like her first husband. Sir Philip Warwick, after fighting valiantly for the King, became his private Secretary.[1]

Another copy, also in the old black morocco, and therefore still wearing the mourning it put on at the author's death. This book in its first days has belonged to Jane Burton, and also to a kinswoman of hers, Jane Elmes. Jane Burton was daughter of Sir Thomas Burton; of whom, with nine others,

[1] Bibliography, p. 31.

including Sir William Halford, first husband of Jane Burton's mother, Lloyd—1668—has recorded :—"Need no other history than the first commission of array, in their own county, Leicestershire, wherein they were inserted ; the catalogue of compounders, wherein they are furnished between them £20,000 ; the paper of Loan, wherein they contributed towards His Majesties service £25,642 ; the several imprisonments they suffered and sequestration they endured." [1]

Yet another just similar copy on my bookshelves belonged first to the Earl of Glamorgan, son of the aged Marquis of Worcester, who was the first man to raise and equip a regiment for the King. Eliot Warburton records :—"The princely old marquis and his sons contributed nearly a million pounds to the royal cause. . . . . Last of all the royal strongholds in England fell Raglan Castle, transmitting to this day in its time-honoured, war-worn battlements, visible testimony of its brave defence. Lord Saye and Cromwell helped themselves to a considerable portion of the Somerset estates, and to this day that noble house feels the consequences of its devoted loyalty." [2]

[1] Bibliography, p. 32. [2] *Ib.* p. 32.

APPENDIX III

SEPTEMBER 20th, 1647: The Commons passed an ordinance against the printing and publishing of unlicensed books, pamphlets, ballads, and other papers, the offenders to be apprehended by mayors and other local officials with an act of indemnity, and the offenders to be fined, the writer forty shillings; the printer twenty shillings, and his press and letter broken. The bookseller to be fined ten shillings, and the mercuries and hawkers to have their books taken from them, and be whipt as common rogues, if they carry such unlicensed books. And for treason, sedition, and blasphemy, the fines not to save them harmless.[1]

September 1649: That the Lawes made formerly, and now in force for Punishment of Devisers and spreaders of false and seditious News, Lyes, and Rumours, by writing, printing, speaking, or otherwise, shall be put in due and diligent execution.

[1] Bibliography, p. 22.

The author to forfeit £10 or be imprisoned in the common gaol of the county—the printer to forfeit £5 or be imprisoned, and likewise have his press and implements of printing seized and broken in pieces.

The bookseller to forfeit forty shillings, or be imprisoned.[1]

That if any Person happen to buy any such seditious books, and do not within twenty-four hours after knowledge thereof bring them to the Lord Mayor of London, or to some other Justice of the Peace, and give notice likewise of the party of whom he had or bought the same . . . . penalty twenty shillings for each offence.[2]

And for better discovery of malignant booksellers, who make a trade of vending and dispersing to their customers in the country, in Packets, by the Post, Carriers, etc, unlicensed, scandalous, and seditious books, etc. . . . . any two magistrates . . . . shall have power to grant warrants for searching of Packs and Packets, and seizing the same.[3]

[1] Bibliography, p. 25. [2] *Ib.* p. 25. [3] *Ib.* p. 27.

APPENDIX IV

THE ELEVEN INITIAL LETTERS HERE GIVEN IN FACSIMILE, ARE FROM A VERY RARE EDITION.

This block represents the initial letter "I" which opens Chapter 2. There can be no doubt that the subject represented is the execution of the Earl of Strafford, the King's favourite, to which the King was so reluctantly forced to give his consent.

This block forms the initial "T" (small) of Chapter 5. A similar block will be found on page 45 of my Bibliography, but with one important difference, viz. the legend "FIDEI DEFENSOR" at the top of

the block, these words not appearing in the edition here followed. In the Newcastle papers printed for R. Royston in 1649 this same block appears at the beginning of the "First Paper," but with the initial altered from "T" to "M," and the superscription "Fid. Def. Angl. & Sc. Eccl." The figure represented is of course that of King Charles the First, who is engaged in writing.

This block represents the initial "A" of Chapter 7, depicting King Charles the First and his Queen Henrietta Maria, with the rose of England between their joined hands. It is also used at the beginning of the "Dedication to the Lady Cordell," in "*Aeternalia*" . . . by Francis Craven, in 1677.

This block represents the initial letter "M" which opens Chapter 8, and which figures the King on horseback, calling upon Sir John Hotham to surrender Hull to his rightful sovereign.

This block represents the initial "T" which opens Chapter 12; and which is a little larger than the "T" opening Chapter 5. Its subject is no doubt the Rebellion and Troubles in Ireland, which are dealt with by the King in this particular chapter.

This block represents the initial letter "N" which opens Chapter 20, "Upon the Reformations of the Times," and is evidently intended to depict the iconoclastic spirit in which the most bigoted of the Puritans set about their pretended "reforms."

This block represents the initial "A" with which Chapter 22 opens, depicting two horsemen riding at a gallop past the walls of a fortified town. It is probably meant to figure the departure of the King from Oxford, on his way to join the Scots—the subject of the chapter.

This block represents the initial letter "Y" which opens Chapter 23; there can be little doubt that it represents the subject of the chapter, viz. the delivering of the King to the English by the Scots.

This block, representing the initial "S," which opens Chapter 27, has figures of Charles the First and his son Charles the Second. This chapter, which is addressed to the young prince, opens with the word "Son." The same block, but with the initial letter "T," opens Chapter 1—"Upon his Majesties calling this last Parliament."

Most editions of Eikon Basilike, after the first two or three, include, after the Eikon, the King's last prayers, and his farewell injunctions to his children. Thus there are two more letters of this rare set, one showing the King in the act of prayer, while the last, the most charming of all, gives us the King taking leave of his children.

This block, with the initial letter "O," occurs at the commencement of his Majesty's Prayers. Charles in his robes, but without his crown, which rests on the ground beside him, is seated on a cushion with his hands clasped in supplication.

The block with the initial "H" shows the King taking leave of his children. It formed the initial letter of the following "Relations," which were printed in the small rare editions of the Eikon Basilike from which these blocks were taken, but which were not included in the *Editio Princeps* used for the text of this book.

Munday 29 Januarie. 1648.

A true Relation of the Kings *Speech to the Lady* Elisabeth, *and the Duke of* Glocester, *the day before his Death.*

HIS Children being come to meet him, he first gave his Blessing to the Ladie Elisabeth ; and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him, as his Sovereign ; and that they should love one another and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the *King* to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this : No (said she) I shal never forget it while I live : And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon his knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head, (Upon which words, the Child

looked very stedfastly on Him.) Mark Child what I say, They will cut off My Head, & perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brother Charls and James do live, For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at the last: and therefore, I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the Child, sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first, Which falling so un-expectedly from one so young, it made the *King* rejoyce exceedingly.

A Relation from the Lady Elisabeths *own Hand.*

What the King said to me the nine and twentieth of *January* 1648: being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him; He told me, He was glad I was come, and although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, because he feared their Crueltie was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my self for Him; for that would be a glorious Death that He should die; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and

for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Bishop *Lauds* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me against Poperie. He told me, He had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also ; and commanded Us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them : He bid me tell my Mother ; that his thoughts had never straied from Her, and that His Love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me send his Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all his Friends : So after He had given me His Blessing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded Us all to forgive those People but never to trust them ; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also to their owne souls : And desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should die a Martyr ; And that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son and that We should be all happier, than We could have exspected to have been, if He had lived : with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Another Relation from the Lady Elisabeth.

The KING said to the Duke of *Glocester*, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul : He told him, that He heard that the Armie intended to make him King, but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul ; for he had two Brothers before him ; and therefore commanded him upon His Blessing, never to accept of it, unlesse it redounded lawfully upon him : And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

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